STUDENTS AND POLITICS

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For more than a century, student movements have had an important place among the agents of social change. In some nations, students have succeeded in toppling governments or changing policies. In others, they have been instrumental in various kinds of cultural revivals. In the new nations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, students are often instrumental in political, social, and cultural development. Students have provided inspired leadership to national liberation movements, political parties, and on a more mundane level, labor organizations and cultural groups. Not only have the leaders of the new states frequently come from student ranks, but the ideological base of many of the new societies has been influenced by the student movement.

While the organizational manifestation of student concern is the most dramatic indication of the power and importance of the student community, the day to day life of the student in these societies is also crucial to their development. The values which are obtained during the process of higher education and the quality of that education will inevitably have an impact on nations which have a very small reservoir of trained manpower.

While students in the industrially advanced nations of the West are important, their numbers are large and the society is sufficiently well developed so that the fate of an individual student or even fairly large group of students is not crucial. In most new nations, however, students often form an "incipient elite." In many of these societies, students assume political responsibility even before finishing their studies, thus bringing national politics onto the campuses in a very direct way. Governments are therefore conscious of the student population, trying to influence it or perhaps repress some of its leaders. It is

hard to imagine that the head of a Western nation would engage in a protracted debate with student leaders in order to insure the loyalty of the student union. Yet, the President of the Ivory Coast recently engaged in just that kind of dialogue with student leaders, arguing with them, and finally threatening to suspend their government scholarships in order to insure the loyalty of the student organization. Because the government has financial and political power at its command, it can usually impose its will on the students. If all else fails, governments can, as has happened in Burma, close the universities for extended periods. The fact that governments in many of the new nations must either argue with or force the students to accept their policies is an indication of the potential power of the students.

The student population in many of the developing nations is numerically small, and is often very much cut off from the rest of its peer group by vastly differing experiences, "Western" ideas, and educational opportunities. This alienation from the peer group, as well as from the mainstream of the traditional society in many cases, often makes the student community self-reliant and at the same time unsure of its roots. In addition, students often have to develop their own traditions, since established patterns of "modern" educational political, and social behavior in many new states have not as yet evolved.

Although substantial attention has been given to the student organizations and higher education in the new nations, much of what has been said has been little more than uninspiring exhortation or political rhetoric. Obviously one must carefully analyze the student community, a vital segment of the population of the new states. Moving beyond the clichés of the politicians and the limited proposals of educa-

tors should enable us to apply historical and sociological principles to the consideration of the student population and its organizations.

Characteristics of Students and Student Groups

While the concept "student" has existed in the modern sense of the term since the Middle Ages, the individual student lost much of his importance in the West in an era of mass education. In medieval Europe, the student had something of an elite status with its accompanying freedom and prerogatives. Now, in the new nations, modern Western systems of higher education are being grafted onto traditional societies, recreating, in some aspects, older patterns of student life.

Studentship is a transitory state, usually lasting only three or four years, though perhaps extended by graduate study. While some student leaders have prolonged their affiliation with the student community, for the vast majority academic life is a short, although often highly intensive period. This makes the existence of on-going organizations and sustained leadership almost impossible. The problem is further aggravated by the fact that student participation in a movement is sporadic, for extra-curricular activity becomes difficult to pursue when the pressure of examinations grows intense, or when official disapproval is manifested. Moreover, because the student feels he is in a period of transition, he often does not develop deep ties to the student community. Academic life is seen as a brief way-station on the road to economic advancement by many, while for others it is a time of unparalleled freedom. The important difference in orientation between the generally career-minded and therefore apolitical science and professional students and the more intellectual orientation of many liberal arts students has had vital implications. A number of studies have pointed out that, in many nations, liberal arts students constitute the key element in political movements.[1]

The student days are one of the few times in the life of an individual when he is not burdened by financial or social responsibilities or subject to outside control. The concept of adolescence does not exist in many traditional societies; there is simply an abrupt transition from childhood to adult life. The young person anticipates with pleasure the freedom of his student career; however, he is often unprepared for this freedom. Relative freedom from parental and familial control, from financial responsibility (in some cases), and from outside work combine to make the academic environment a heady experience for many young people. Furthermore, many realize that the student years mark the end of youth and that adult responsibilities will necessarily follow graduation from the university.

Because of their freedom, students can often afford to take risks which others in the society, saddled with family and other responsibilities, cannot take. It is partly for this same reason that the student community is considered less corrupt than any other segment of the society. In the public image, student politics are supposedly unmarred by considerations of partisanship or personal material gain. In many nations, students have attempted to take upon themselves the leadership of the working classes, who are often unable to speak for themselves and have no tradition of organization. Students also have the reputation, perhaps justified, for having greater ideological "purity" than other elements in society, and it is true that they can often approach society without the biases of vested interests or social constraints and with a relatively high degree of intellectual honesty. They are relatively free agents in their thought and actions, often having the security of future employment because of their education and position in the elite class.

It is no coincidence that students have often been in the vanguard of revolutionary movements in various countries. The Russian student movement provided an important impetus to revolutionary activity, and students in Burma, India, Korea, and other nations have been a leading element

in independence movements. Participation in revolutionary movements is often part of the generational conflicts which are so often evident among students. Advocacy of drastic social reforms is often seen as a means of fighting the authoritarian influence of the traditional family.[2] Because of their lack of outside responsibility, their openness to modernizing ideologies, and their desire to create a better society, students are often involved in social movements.

Because students deal with ideas and intellectualized concepts in their academic work, they are better able to understand abstract ideological systems than are persons who regularly work in concrete "non-intellectual" situations. As a result, students are often more receptive to ideologically oriented movements and causes. Having little or no experience in practical politics or the problems of economic development, they are often more naive about the key issues facing their societies, and are more likely to seek all-encompassing solutions to societal problems than are their elders. Because of this intellectual interest and urge to systematize, students seek an ideological system which will provide them with a *weltanschauung*, a guide to thought and action. Both left and right wing ideological movements have traditionally found strong student support, although in the developing nations the left far outweighs the right in popularity and influence.[3] This natural interest in intellectualized ideological systems has been an important factor in stimulating the growth of student movements and in providing them with some enduring impetus. In the non-student world, organizational initiative can help keep a movement alive. On the student level, ideological convictions among succeeding generations of students must suffice because of the rapidly changing nature of the student population.

In addition to the freedom which is naturally a part of student life, many societies, both traditional and advanced, have taken a permissive attitude toward student values and activity. Political acts which would be subjected to severe government repression if performed by labor unions or other groups, often go unheeded if done by students. The concept of "sowing wild oats," restricted to pranks in the United States, extends to politics in many nations, where it is assumed that students will take an active and often volatile role in politics. This tradition of intellectual, political and physical freedom which students enjoy in many societies acts as a reinforcing element to the student movement, permitting it to act with relative impunity. Understandably, the student community often has very little in common with other young people. For many college students in the developing nations college life is the first non-family experience. Physiologically and psychologically, the period of adolescence is one of adjustment and change, and this cannot but have repercussions on the educational, social, and political attitudes of the students. The need for independence and self-expression are great during this period, and the tendency toward rebellion against authority, particularly that represented by the father, is marked. Studies of youth in Japan and in India indicate that many of the same factors which have been documented in the West also operate in non-Western societies.[4]

In addition to the factors which lead the individual student in a political direction, there are various pressures on the student population which also drive in this direction. The existence of a large number of students at one location, with similar interests, and subject to similar stimuli from the environment, gives a powerful impetus to organizational activities of all kinds. It is difficult to imagine a more cohesive community from which to recruit members. The intellectual ferment which takes place as a natural result of the academic setting is also influential in moving students to action. While only a minority of any given group of students is likely to be interested in politics (or any other extra-curricular subject), the presence of substantial numbers of students in a single location tends to create a numerically significant group of dedicated and committed politicized stu-

dents, even though the percentages involved may remain relatively small.

Communications within the student movement are usually quite good, especially when the majority of the students in a given area are congregated on one campus. Thus, when external conditions or ideological issues move students to action, it is easy to create a substantial movement in a relatively short time. Expensive and complex newspapers, radio programs, etc., are unnecessary; all that is needed is a mimeograph machine and a few strategically placed posters. It is difficult to overestimate the value of good communications in the development of student movements. Even in totalitarian societies, the students are one of the most difficult groups to control partly because of the ease with which they can communicate among themselves.

The sense of community which is often built up by the students because of their similarities in background and outlook and their common environment provides a basis for a student movement or organization. Without this sense of community the students would be unable to participate in political and cultural affairs to the extent that they have in the new nations. Indeed, there are indications that as the student population becomes larger and less homogeneous, it is more difficult to organize large scale student movements. In India, for example, as higher education became available to young people from middle and lower middle class backgrounds and the educational institutions expanded at a rapid rate, the student community lost its cohesive quality and it has been more difficult to organize the students.

Students have often been united by a common alienation from traditional patterns of society. Students are often one of the few representatives of "Western" culture and ideology in their societies. The structure and content of their educational institutions are largely imported, and many of their teachers are either foreigners or foreign-educated. There is much vacillation between tradition and modernity in the student community.[5] Intellectual trends often push the students further from traditional cultural and social patterns. As a result of these factors, the students feel alienated from and superior to their families and the society at large, but at the same time they feel guilty because of their rejection of the "true" values of their culture. While this alienation often disappears as the student takes his place in his society, it is an important factor during the student period.

This very sense of alienation serves to unite the student community. Alienation also has a politicizing effect, in that the values of the "modern" Western ideologies are often combined with elements of traditional culture to form the basis of new ideological movements. Elements of "African Socialism," 19th century Indian revivalism, and other ideological tendencies are part of this phenomenon. Regardless of the result of the sense of alienation, it is true that it is a powerful force on the students of the developing nations. Notions of deracination and cultural regeneration are recurrent themes in student discussions in many of the new states. Thus, regardless of the truth in the notions, they are important influences on students' thinking, and hence on their actions.[6]

The student population also provides an organizational base for student political and social action. Student unions and other organizations which have been set up by educational authorities or governments often provide a meeting place for students interested in ideological discussions or cultural activity. Often, more radical groups grow out of these "official" organizations. Even in totalitarian societies, the "official" youth movements often provide the basis for dissenting groups of various kinds. Much of the impetus for the political ferment in Poland in the late 'fifties came from the Polish student movement and its publications, which were officially sanctioned by the government.[7]

Despite the fact that students in the developing nations are usually privileged people and have a much higher standard of living than the average citizen, the student is often under severe pressure during his

academic career. Sometimes economic, but more often academic or social, these pressures help to determine the scope and intensity of student social action. The most direct pressure on the student is from the educational institution itself. The need to pass the periodic examinations, to keep up with course work, and to achieve a high academic status are some of the main worries of any student. The educational institution often demands an outward show of loyalty from its students and occasionally asks for ideological and social conformity from them. In nations where university graduates are threatened by unemployment, and the quality of the instruction is perceived by the students as inadequate, there is likely to be a good deal of underlying discontent. There is often a substantial difference in student attitudes and involvement in politics from faculty to faculty within a university. In India, for example, academic standards and employment prospects are much better for science and technological students than for those in the liberal arts, and it is true that science students are not often involved in student "indiscipline." Where the academic program is challenging, the pressures of the university on the students (in the direction of academic excellence, for instance) are usually seen as justified. In faculties where a good deal of ambivalence about the future and a realization that standards of education are inadequate exists, there is likely to be discontent.

Academic standards and methods of university administration vary greatly in the developing nations. While some nations have worked hard to maintain educational standards and limit enrollments, other have engaged in rapid expansion of educational institutions with an accompanying lowering of standards. It is clear that educational policies imposed by governments have an important impact on the students, and that the nature of student organization is often determined by educational standards in various faculties, employment prospects, and other external factors.

Most traditional societies are family-oriented; the individual may be primarily a member of his family rather than a citizen of the state or nation. The family can and often does apply pressure on the student. Representing the traditional values in the society, the family may influence the student toward social conformity, adherence to traditional social and religious ideas, and retention of traditional values. In any case, the pressure from traditional elements within any society is often one of the major sources of stress in the life of the student.

While the government usually exercises a rather nebulous influence on the individual student, it can on occasion become a major force in his life. Government educational policies, particularly in the developing nations, have a profound impact on the educational system and, consequently, on the lives of individual students. Government pressure for political conformity, censorship and suppression affect the students. Since the latter are often impatient with the slowness and ineffectuality of government efforts in economic development, there is often opposition to the established regime. Government also represents the older generation, and in many cases, provides an obstacle to ambitious student leaders seeking quick advancement.

Politics exercise a strong attraction and a potent pressure among students. As a general rule, the political groups cannot apply the kind of direct pressure of which the educational authorities and the government are capable. In many of the developing nations, political issues have caused student uprisings and agitational campaigns. Students have sacrificed their educational future in order to participate in political movements and such organizations on university campuses consume a great deal of time and energy. While it is difficult to include politics as another "pressure," it is often a major preoccupation of the student community.

Ideology attunes the student not only to the broader issues of his society, but makes him more willing to participate in campus-based movements. It is often true that an agitational campaign against an increase in

university fees, ostensibly a campus-based issue, will be led by ideologically committed students. During the various struggles for independence and national liberation, students left the universities in substantial numbers to participate in labor and peasant movements as well as directly in the independence struggle. While not consisting of direct physical pressure on the student community, ideology and political movements provide the pressure and stimulus of ideas and all-encompassing answers to some of the important questions facing the developing nations.

The environment of the individual student usually provides pressure. Indeed, much of his behavior, and his ideological views as well, are shaped by his environment. Many students suffer from financial hardship during their educational careers and have to live in poor conditions. In many cases, college facilities are poor and do not provide even the basic necessities for higher education. Inadequate libraries, badly trained staff, and outmoded buildings mark many colleges in the developing nations. The impact of these conditions cannot but have an important influence on the student, his attitudes, and naturally his educational attainment. Students from the working and new middle classes, whose experience with Western values is shorter and whose families can ill afford the expense of a college education are usually affected by these factors most. The threat of unemployment hangs over the heads of many college students in the new nations, and this fear naturally has implications for the individuals involved.

Student Organizations and Movements

Before discussing the "student movement" one must adequately define the term. It is not a fraternity, a social club, an academic society, or an extra-curricular cultural group, although under certain circumstances, it may encompass the activities and functions of such groups. We may define a student movement as an association of students inspired by aims set forth in a specific ideological doctrine, usually, although not exclusively, political in nature. A student movement may be generated by emotional feelings often associated with inter-generational conflicts, although it may also be motivated by positive goals; the members of a student movement, moreover, have the conviction that, as young intellectuals, they have a special historical mission to achieve that which the older generation has failed to achieve, or to correct imperfections in their environment.[8] A student movement is a combination of emotional response and intellectual conviction.

The student movement is almost invariably expressed in organizational terms, although not all student organizations are "movements." It is true that almost every student community has a nexus of organizations which involve individuals in various activities. These organizations exist regardless of the political composition of the student community or the form of government or educational authority which exists in the society. There are, furthermore, numerous types of student organizations, many of which have overlapping memberships. Groups range from large officially sponsored organizations to clandestine informal study circles.

Almost every college or university abounds with various "official" student organizations, devoted to manifold causes. In many institutions, officially recognized student unions are an integral part of the university community and in some places, notably Latin America, students have a constitutional voice in academic affairs. Extra-curricular social, cultural, or service organizations also involve many students. These groups provide a potentially valuable adjunct to the education of the participants, and it is common for them to be financially aided by the university administration or by the governments concerned. These groups are often formed by the university authorities for specific purposes and are subjected to strict supervision. The popularity of such groups varies and it is a fact that many of the "official" student groups have minimal support or participation.

In many nations, an attempt has been made to create movements on the basis of the official student groups; however, such efforts have usually been unsuccessful. It is also true that educational administrators or government officials frequently try to use these groups to forestall or compete with student protest organizations which oppose the authorities. Almost without exception, the official student organizations become a natural and logical training and recruiting ground for political leadership. Occasionally, the official student groups develop into militant student movements, sometimes opposing their patrons. At different periods, the influence of these groups has varied from country to country; nevertheless, through sheer size and power, the official student organizations usually constitute an important part of the organized student community.

In addition to the official groups, most universities support a multitude of voluntary extra-curricular organizations. These are often recognized by the university authorities and may be required to have a faculty member as advisor, but they are usually student administered. Because they have no official patronage, they stand or fall on their own merits; the average lifespan of many of them is very short. These organizations range from purely social gatherings to those devoted to politics, social service, discussion and debate, athletics, dramatics, and culture. Many are organized by the members of a particular religious or linguistic community as social and cultural centers.

These organizations do not as a rule constitute movements, although they sometimes inspire more militant and massive organizational efforts. Students from a particular religious minority may, for example, in the course of discussions within an approved student group, formulate a broader religious or political creed which leads them to collaborate with or form a mass movement. Similarly, the political ideas which are discussed in such an organization can easily lead to more radical organizational activity.

Finally, there are often various kinds of unofficial and unapproved student organizations existing at a given university. Student movements are more often started by such groups than by the official organizations. Such unrecognized groups are often devoted to political issues or ideologies and are often militantly opposed to the power structure of their society. Some, however, may be of purely social nature, such as fraternities in the United States. The student "underground" may never reach an insurrectionary or an active stage; yet it undeniably plays an important part in influencing its membership even at the discussion-group stage.[9]

The membership of such unapproved student groups is in general much smaller than the approved organizations, although this is often compensated by a high level of commitment from the membership, and a great deal of loyalty to the peer group. These associations are sometimes, but not always, affiliated to or under the influence of outside organizations, such as political parties or larger student movements. Members of highly disciplined clandestine student groups may hold high offices in "respectable" groups, thereby enhancing their influence.

All of these types of student organizations can be important in specific situations, and it would be a mistake to overlook aspects of seemingly respectable groups in any evaluation of a student movement. There is often a good deal of interaction between these various elements of the organized student community, a fact of primary importance in investigating the web of personal contacts and ideologies within the student community. The overlap of membership in various types of organizations is often substantial, and there is often an accompanying overlap of ideas. Infiltration of official student groups by the student "underground" is not uncommon and often accounts for the radical nature of ostensibly respectable organizations. Thus, the ideology of the unofficial student organizations can permeate the entire student community without much difficulty regardless of the wishes of university officials.

A student movement need not have as its goal violent political change; it can, for example, press for a "cultural renaissance" within a society. It may also be concerned solely with educational or campus issues, without involving individuals or issues from the broader society. Thus, in searching for the roots of a student movement or agitational campaign, it may be fruitful to examine all organizations, not only the militantly politically motivated student groups, bearing in mind, however, that movements of a militant nature more often than not arise from ideologically committed groups.

Regardless of the type, function, or size, student groups are notoriously unstable. This is due mainly to the rapidly changing nature of the student population, but also to the changing interests of the students themselves. Even the large groups with lavish government support often lose much of their leadership and support in a short time due to changes in the interests of the students or the loss of key leaders. The clandestine organizations are still more vulnerable to changes in the winds of the student community or of the society at large. It is possible with intelligent student leadership and by careful planning and leadership training to insure a relatively long period of organizational continuity. In the last analysis, the transitory nature of the student groups is one of their dominant characteristics and a key element in the understanding of the student community. Even seemingly stable and militant student movements can lose their popular support in a short period; internal disputes and factional disagreements can destroy the core of leadership in a matter of days, and administrative restrictions can cause serious difficulties. Other factors, such as a university examination, a diverting event in the broader society, or the arrest of key student leaders can temporarily destroy a student organization or movement. Yet, it is entirely possible for a movement to recoup its losses in a very short time, thus suggesting that its ideology and program have survived a temporary organizational setback.

In recent years, there has been a grow-ing realization of the importance of student activity in both educational and political development in many of the new nations.[10] Because of the fact that student political movements have had a dramatic influence in some of these nations, attention has been focused on them. It is possible to state, in capsule form, some of the general causes for student action which have been pointed out in recent studies, as well as those which have been observed in various student movements. Such an enumeration will help give an idea of the causes of student action.

It is almost a truism that the university is greatly dependent on its environment. The student community may be aroused or swayed by events in the outside world. Political leaders often take a direct and active interest in the students, occasionally guiding or exploiting student movements. It has been mentioned that the various national liberation movements received substantial support from the students. The struggle for independence influenced the university campus and transformed many universities into battle grounds for extended periods of time. Cultural trends in the society can also have an impact on the students, as can international events, economic crisis, or religious strife. The student is also influenced by his future prospects for employment and prestige in the society.

A tradition of independent political and social action among the students can help to determine the nature and direction of the student movement. Where the student community has few traditions to fall back on, its response to external events is unpredictable and inconsistent; where there is a tradition of apoliticism among the students, even severe social crisis often fails to move the students to action. Thus, the historical roots of the system of higher education and the student population itself both play an important part in the development of the student movement.

It is unlikely that movements stimulated by specific or isolated events will be able to sustain themselves over a long period of time. One would expect to encounter less ideological sophistication or broad political

concern in them than in movements founded by politically conscious students with long range goals in mind.

These "spontaneous" movements may arise when the student movement feels directly threatened or challenged. The cause can be an imposed fee increase or an unusually difficult examination. In the past, administrative censorship, suppression or condescension have instigated demonstrations. Once students have taken action on some issue, it is difficult for them to quietly return to their routine academic life after having experienced the exhilaration of political agitation and contact with the centers of power in the society.

In the recent past much student unrest has been collectively described as "indiscipline," as the result of immaturity or the ever-present generational conflict. While it is true that much of the violence which takes places on the campus is a result of one or the other of the above factors, students often have legitimate grievances, and are capable of expressing their concern in a disciplined and at times effective manner. They are often in the vanguard of the political and social movements of their nations and their actions frequently reflect sensitivity to social reality rather than immaturity.

Students are driven by many motives, some of them contradictory. By using a variety of approaches, it may be possible to define these motives. Psychological examination and depth interviews will reveal facets of student behavior which an historical analysis of student activity could not, and sociologically oriented attitude surveys have much relevance. Yet, it would be a mistake to suggest that psychological and sociological methods are the only valid means for analyzing student movements, just as a sole dependence on historical analysis would be inadequate.

An examination of the student movement alone is insufficient to obtain a total picture of the student population. The social class background of the students will in part determine their attitudes toward education and occupation. Caste or tribal affiliations also influence student attitudes. The relationship between the student and society can also have an impact on the nature of the movement, since students will not tend toward political activism when there are few external causes for discontent. Where the society is marked by generational tension or by economic discontent, student political activism is more likely.

These are various types of student political activity which have been important in the new states. Each type is a response to a specific grievance or aimed at a particular goal. One important distinction is the difference between norm and value oriented student political action. Norm-oriented student movements generally aim at the correction of a specific grievance or at a particular goal, and do not often have broader ideological overtones. The norm-oriented movement is unlikely to maintain itself after its goal has been attained, although, as has been noted, such movements often provide an impetus for further activity.

Orientations of Student Groups

While the norm-oriented movement is concerned with specific goals and is more likely a product of an emotional response to a specific limited issue, the value-oriented movement is concerned with broader ideological issues, and when it is involved in concrete actions, this activity is usually linked directly to a broader concern.[11] Most revolutionary political movements are value-oriented, and most of the on-going student political organizations, particularly "underground" groups, are value-oriented. A value orientation does not prevent students from participating in limited campaigns or agitations, although such participation is usually done for reasons transcending the specific objective. In the student community, a value-oriented movement has a more important influence in the long run, and is often a leading element in apparently norm-oriented actions. Both types of groups, the norm-oriented "cause-group" aimed at reducing fees or securing a change in college administra-

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tion, and the value-oriented political organization committed to doctrines of Marxism, Hinduism, or other ideological concepts, exist side by side in the student community. Naturally, there is some overlap between these two types of groups and it is often difficult to make a clear distinction between them, since the leadership of a group which is seemingly norm-oriented may be ideologically sophisticated and able to turn the attention of the participants to broader issues.

What starts as a limited protest against some isolated issue may easily turn into a sustained movement, with concerns extending to the broader society. The leadership of the student movement is notably fluid, and it is very possible for a norm-oriented leadership to be supplanted by students interested in capitalizing on a particular movement for their broader political purposes. Thus, while the norm and value orientations offer some convenient models to work from, student movements often defy a tight definition of either category and care must be taken in applying these labels to various student movements and organizations.

In addition to the distinction between "norm" and "value" oriented movements, there is a related series of factors which can influence the direction of student organizations. A student movement may be concerned only with "campus" issues and have relatively little interest or impact on the external political situation. Such movements have been called "etudialist" because of their primary student orientation. They are often quite militant over issues of student welfare, fee increases, and administrative harassment of students. They are occasionally interested in the broader issues of educational policy and reform, although generally student interests are confined to more limited areas. Contrasted to such movements are society-oriented student movements, which are concerned with societal issues—usually political, although occasionally social or cultural.[12]

There are similarities between the norm-value distinction and the "etudialist"-society orientation of the student movement. It is usually true that student organizations or movements interested in broader social issues are motivated by value orientations, although this is not always the case. Student groups affiliated to political parties usually have a value orientation and are often concerned with broader political issues. Yet, it is important to keep these two sets of criteria clear, since it is possible for student movements to manifest differing orientations over a period of time. The Zengakuren, Japan's militant student organization, is clearly a value-oriented student organization, adhering to extreme leftist ideological views.[13] Yet, this organization has alternatively taken part in "etudialist" and societal activities during its post-war history. Thus, while its orientation has been value directed, it has switched its tactics on a number of occasions to meet the needs of the students and/or of its political ideology. The Indian student movement shows similar examples of this relatively facile change of tactics. The Communist-sponsored student organization, the All-India Students' Federation, clearly a value-oriented movement, has alternatively taken part in broader political issues under the direction of the Communist Party and has participated in campus-oriented activity when such action has served its needs or has become of importance to the students. It is also possible for norm-oriented student groups to take part in societal activity. At various Indian universities, students have taken part in outside politics when such action has been deemed necessary to fulfill a student demand. Pressure on political leaders often can lead to amelioration of a campus problem.

These distinctions are often blurred, and are hardly ever clear in the minds of the students themselves. Yet, they are valuable tools for gaining an understanding of a specific student movement. The issue is further complicated by the fact that the orientation and direction of student organizations can and often do change rather radically in a short period of time. These changes usually occur in a relatively disciplined manner,

and a knowledge of the general orientation of the movement can help to predict its direction, or can lead to a further understanding of its motives and goals.

Student political activity often contains an important non-student element, which sometimes provides direction and ideological sophistication to the movement. In most societies, the student community consists not only of students currently enrolled in institutions of higher education, but also of ex-students or part time students who wish to remain on the periphery of the student community. While a student *per se* may only remain at an institution for four years, non-student elements in the student community often remain for longer periods of time, providing something of an historical sense to the student movement. Political parties often assign young activists to the student work and seek to expand their influence in this way. Part of the "underground" of the student population, these elements cannot be overlooked as they are often of crucial importance to student movements.

Functions of Student Movements

The student movement, in addition to meeting certain emotional and intellectual needs of the students, also has a number of important functions within the framework of education and political development in the new nations. Student cultural and social organizations are often important sources of academic knowledge, since they sponsor well-attended lectures and other programs. These organizations provide the student community with one of the few opportunities for serious discussion and a chance to meet informally with professors and other academic persons. University authorities often try to include the "extra-curriculum" as an important part of the educational experience of the students, although quite often these groups are left to student initiative. In some cases, Western ideas are engendered through the activities of such groups. The various debating societies which are popular give valuable

training in parliamentary methods, public speaking, and often in politics as well. The religiously based student groups often give the student a new insight into and perhaps identification with his religious tradition. Literary groups are sometimes as effective as formal courses in literature in providing the students with a background in this field.

One of the most important educational aspects of the student organizations is concerned with politics. Where they are permitted, most universities have active political discussion groups. Where there are constraints on student organization, such discussion groups often operate underground on a smaller scale. Such groups are usually the main source of political education for the students involved in them, and often have a vital and lasting effect on those involved. Student cultural organizations often provide training in drama, dancing, and other arts to students who go on to become well known in the cultural realm. Students who are active in the movement often have an advantage in such mundane affairs as business and commerce because of their training in human relations and organizational techniques. Indeed, it has been said that the alumni of the militant leftist Zengakuren in Japan often make very good businessmen after their revolutionary careers come to an end.[14]

The socializing role of the student movement has been implicit in much of the foregoing discussion. Student groups are often a primary element in the political socialization of whole student generations, thereby playing an important although indirect role in the shaping of the political life of the broader society. Even when students lose much of their youthful radicalism in later years, they retain something of the training they received in the movement. In India, for example, the organizational training provided by the Communist student movement has proved a valuable asset to the many former Communists who have achieved high business or government positions. Students occasionally make career choices on the basis of their experiences in the student movement, and many choose

politics as a career because of their experiences in the student movement.[15]

Student organizations of all types often shape student attitudes. This is a particularly important consideration in societies in which the student community is surrounded by traditional value orientations. In such societies, the student movement is one of the few modernizing elements and can go a long way toward breaking down caste, religious and linguistic rivalries and building a sense of nationality. Thus, social views are shaped by the student movement as well as political outlooks. And again, while students leave the universities, they often retain something of the attitudes which they learned in the movement. In rigidly administered educational systems, the more informal structures of the student movement can be even more important.

The student movement has been a stimulus for nationalism in many of the new nations. Much of modern Indian nationalism was developed by individuals with Western educations, many of whom had studied in Europe. Many of the first generation of African nationalists were trained in the London-based West African Students' Union. Student groups in other areas have also been important training centers for nationalist leaders, and some nationalist ideology was developed within such organizations.

The student movement has occasionally achieved direct political results from its activity. Governments in Korea and Turkey were toppled by militant student movements although the military soon took over the reigns of government. Students in Japan forced the Kishi government to resign as a result of massive demonstrations. Students exercised an important influence on the Russian revolutionary movement and on the nationalist movements in India, Burma, and parts of Africa. Thus, the student movement can have a direct political function as well as a more diffuse educational impact. Students have never been able to successfully control a revolutionary movement, even in those instances when they have been primarily responsible for it.

The student movement is often a primary contact between the student population and the educational authorities, thus functioning as a means of communication between the two key elements in any system of higher education. Students have often taken a direct role in educational affairs by suggesting changes and reforms, which have occasionally been accepted. When the students feel strongly about an educational issue, they can force the hand of the authorities by demanding reforms and enforcing their wishes by agitational campaigns.

The student movement does not always play a radical role in the community, pressing for progressive reforms and backing left-wing politicians. It can also act as a reactionary force, supporting traditional elements in the society. Although it would seem that leftism is a more pervasive influence, strong conservative student organizations exist in many nations. As in politics, the cultural influence of the student movement can be conservative as well, and can help to build an identification of the students with traditional cultural patterns after an initial rebellion from them.

That student movements, political and non-political, have played an important and at times crucial role in the developing nations is clear. Generalizing about the nature of such movements is more difficult, since there are many differences between nations. One of the difficulties in analyzing student movements is their transitory nature—the student community as well as the interests of the students change rapidly. Organizations are often temporary, and leadership fluctuates. The emphasis of the movements shifts from campus to society and back again at rather regular intervals, and the movement itself can disappear for extended periods of time.

Interaction between the educational system, the broader political and economic situation, and the socio-psychological nature of the student community is complex, making any thorough understanding of the role of the students in politics and on the educational establishment difficult. Yet, it is

of crucial importance that the student movement be thoroughly analyzed if an important aspect of economic and political development in the new nations is to be understood.

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If poor people are in the movement because they have nothing to gain in the status system, students are in it because, in a sense, they have gained too much. Most of the active student radicals today come from middle to upper-middle class professional homes. They were born with status and affluence as facts of life, not goals to be striven for. In their upbringing, their parents stressed the right of children to question and make judgments, producing perhaps the first generation of young people both affluent and independent of mind. And then these students so often encountered social institutions that denied them their independence and betrayed the democratic ideals they were taught. They saw that men of learning were careerists: that school and administrators and ministers almost never discussed the realities the students lived with; that even their parents were not true to the ideals they taught the young.

TOM HAYDEN, former President of Students for a Democratic Society, as quoted in Gerald M. Schaflander, *SDS in Newark* (unpublished paper, Harvard University, 1966), p. 7.